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year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government ...	...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás ...	...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir ...	...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal...	...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána ...	...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only	...	Rs. 2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na*; the common wool, *Bal*; and the hair, *sPu*. The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal*, or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal*, are the same as the Latin *lana*, and the English *wool*.

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Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

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439 Ladák for the bordering of skull-caps, but the remainder is exported to Yarkand.

Tea is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladák, and a considerable quantity is therefore imported both for home consumption and for the supply of Kashmir and the Punjáb. The gross annual import is said to be 1,000 maunds, or 32,000 lb.; which, at the rate of three rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 9,600. About 200 maunds (6,400 lb.) is exported, leaving only 800 maunds, or 25,600 lb., for the use of the people of Ladák. This will not give more than three ounces to each person; but there is good reason for believing that a considerable quantity of Chinese tea is smuggled into Ladák; and we know that the black tea of Bisahar is now largely imported to be mixed with the Chinese tea. The average supply for each individual cannot therefore be less than half a pound. In England it reaches a pound and a quarter for each person.*

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DUTIES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

YARKAND.

On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Charas, per maund	2	4	0
„ Wool	2	4	0
„ Tea	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	8	0

On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Cloths, Láki, &c. per maund ...	0	4	0
„ Opium	0	4	0

No other duties are now taken on exports to Yarkand.

KASHMIR.

On Cloths, per maund	1	0	0
„ Saffron „ ...	3	0	0
„ Brocades, per piece	0	8	0
„ Shawls, per pair	0	8	0
„ Tobacco	0	4	0
„ Ghi	0	4	0

On Wool, per maund	0	8	0
„ Tea, per dama ...	1	0	0
„ Langa and Siling, per piece ...	0	2	0

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.	On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Sugar-candy ...	1	4	0				
„ Spices	1	4	0				
„ Opium	2	8	0				
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0				

BISAHAR.

On Opium, per maund	1	4	0	On Charas, per maund	0	10	0
„ Spices	0	10	0	„ Gold and Silver, per yámbu ...	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	10	0				
„ Iron	1	0	0				

NURPUR.

On every pony-load ...	3	0	0

ZANSKAR.

On Láki, per maund	2	2	6
„ Ghi	0	4	0
„ Honey	0	2	0
„ Opium	2	8	0
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0

The following tables show the annual amount and value of all the imports and exports of the trade of Ladák, with the total amount of duty levied on each article.

IMPORTS FROM THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Seer.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool	4,000	128,000	2 0 0	1,28,000	12,800	0 8 0	2,000	200
Wool	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 8 0	500	50
Tea	1,000	32,000	3 0 0	48,000	4,800	0 2 0	2,000	200
Charas	500	16,000	3 0 0	24,000	2,400	2 4 0	1,125	112½
Tobacco ..	4,000	128,000	1 0 0	64,000	6,400	0 4 0	1,000	100
Borax	2,500	80,000	0 0 6	1,250	125	0 4 0	625	62½
Sulphur ..	400	12,800	0 1 0	400	40	0 4 0	100	10
Total ..	13,400	428,000		2,67,650	26,765		7,350	735

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IMPORTS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	2 8 0	1,250	125
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000	0 8 0	250	25
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000	0 8 0	200	20
Lúki	200	6,400	32 0 0	6,400	640	2 2 6	431	43
Spices	—	—	—	1,000	100	0 15 0	100	10
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280	3 0 0	60	6
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000	1 0 0	100	10
Total ..	820	26,240		2,20,200	22,020		2,391	239

EXPORTS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool*	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 8 0	1,600	160
Ditto †	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 12 0	2,400	240
Total ..	6,400	204,800		2,04,800	20,480		4,000	400
Wool‡	5,000	160,000	0 2 0	10,000	1,000	0 2 0	625	62½
Ditto §	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 2 0	125	12½
Total ..	6,000	192,000		12,000	1,200		700	70
Tea	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 4 0	800	80
Charas	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 10 0	125	12½
Borax	3,000	96,000	0 0 6	1,500	150	0 4 0	750	75
Sulphur	500	16,000	0 1 0	500	50	0 4 0	125	12½
Total ..	16,300	321,600		2,38,000	23,800		6,550	655

* Exported to Kashmir.
† Exported to other places.
‡ Home produce.
§ Imported from Chang Thang.

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EXPORTS TO THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	0 4 0	125	12½
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000			
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000			
Láki	100	3,200	32 0 0	3,200	320	0 4 0	25	2½
Spices	—	—	—	800	80			
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280			
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000			
Total ..	720	23,040		2,16,000	21,600		150	15

TOTALS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Value.		Duty.	
	Rupees.	£.	Rupees.	£.
IMPORTS.				
From the Chinese Territories ...	2,67,650	26,765	7,350	735
„ Indian „ ...	2,20,200	22,020	2,391	239
Total Imports ...	4,87,850	48,785	9,741	974
EXPORTS.				
To the Indian Territories	2,38,000	23,800	6,550	655
„ Chinese „ ...	2,16,000	21,600	150	15
Total Exports ...	4,54,000	45,400	6,700	670

The total amount of duties thus collected is Rs. 16,441. This, with the addition of other small duties on Chinese silks, salt, iron, and copper vessels, will amount to about Rs. 18,000, which was the acknowledged amount

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of the duties collected in Ladák both before and after Gulab Sing's conquest. I have therefore some reason to believe in the general accuracy of the statements which I received from the merchants, although perhaps not one of them may be strictly correct. Statistical questions are particularly puzzling to ignorant men, who are unaccustomed to deal with large numbers, and when they get beyond hundreds begin to talk of lacs. I found too, that the statements of the Kashmiris were generally false, and I believe wilfully so; at least the returns which they gave me of the numbers of people and *kháls* of land in the different villages of Drás, were undoubtedly manufactured for the occasion. Thus every house had exactly one man, one woman, and one boy, and every village possessed exactly three *kháls* of land. But the mis-statements of the Botis arose, I believe, generally from ignorance, as I never could find any obviously manufactured statistics, like those of the Kashmiris. I have already noticed the close agreement between the sum of my detailed accounts of the import and export duties, and the gross amount of Rs. 18,000, which was universally said to be the total amount of all the duties collected in Ladák. I will now add another fact that will most probably tend to increase the reliance which the first would induce us to place in the general accuracy of these details. A considerable quantity of silver in ingots, or bars, is annually brought into Ladák by the Yarkandis, thus proving that the value of the merchandise which they import is less than that which they export. Now these details exhibit precisely the same fact, as I will now show.

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IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

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In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

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khral, and partly in money, *Nul-khral*.* The collectors, called *Shangudpapo*,† transmitted their various quotas, at stated periods, to the *Chag-dsot*, or lord high treasurer, at Lé, where they were all deposited in the *Ter-dsot*,‡ or treasury. The poorer classes, who were unable to pay either in money or in kind, were obliged to pay by bodily service as labourers. They were appropriately named *Kanggro*, or "foot-goers," that is, porters or labourers on foot, in contradistinction to the others, who were called *Lagdon*, or "hand-doers," that is, payers by hand.

The duties were collected at the custom-houses (*Shogamgyina*) by the *Shogampas*, or customs-officers; and the tolls on the high-roads were taken by the *Láchanpas*, or toll-gatherers. These duties were taken partly in kind and partly in money, and generally in equal portions. The gross annual collections usually averaged Rs. 18,000.

The tax on houses was regulated according to their size. For a large or "full-sized" house (*Khang-chhen*) there was a charge of seven rupees; for a middle-sized or "half-house," three and a half rupees; and for a small or "quarter-house," one and three-quarter rupee.§ Under the *Gyalpo's* rule there were reckoned 18,000 paying houses, of which

400	of large size	paid Rs. 7 each	=	Rs. 2,800
1,600	middle	„ 3½ „	=	5,600
16,000	small	„ 1¾ „	=	28,000
18,000	houses paying	... ...		Rs. 36,400

* *hBru-khral*, "corn-tax," and *dNgul-khral*, "money-tax."

† *dPya-sNgud-pa-po*, pronounced as in the text, *Shangudpapo*.

‡ *gTer-mDsod*, called also *gTer-mTsong* and *rTsis-khang*.

§ *Khang-chhen*, "house-large;" the middle size were called *Khang-phyed*, "half-house," and the smallest size were named *Phyedi-phyed*, "half of half," or quarter.

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651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 644 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the 643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000 houses of large size at Rs. 7 each				=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	„	middle	„ 3½ „	=	17,500
12,000	„	small	„ 1¾ „	=	21,000
18,000 houses paying					Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000.

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His

* *Kuru* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

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643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor;
[693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The
701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

● 651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

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or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me—

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	...	Rs. 900
„ Chimra	...	900
„ Thigsé	...	500
„ Pitak	...	500
„ Gáwan	...	900
„ Láma Yúrrú	...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people whose principal means of livelihood are derived from the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence;

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

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161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

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then returned to the capital to make preparations for the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Körös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100* to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning.

9. For four months† the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru.

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[727] upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku * or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 669 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 651 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Rai was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned. 175

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tâdsi, were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him. [651]

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year,* after which he returned to Ladák with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, and Chang Nabdan, the Káhlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.†

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti, whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted; but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises

* From different statements in the narrative, Zoráwar Sing's residence at Jammu must have been during the latter half of 1838 and the beginning of 1839.

† Basti Ram's narrative ends here. The remainder of this history has been compiled from other information.

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[2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

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General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

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ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

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Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [473] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

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601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--gôboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

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651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [197]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

821 [56] HAIRY--srdchan or SHrdchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
●651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

WT 648 439 554

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

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In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

RAVEN--chhoskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If 587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

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a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

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[135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

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REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue obtained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngleymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials 1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively. 657 652 651 423 565

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108 "thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113, these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told." 788

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om mâni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng-bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following fanciful explanation is given:-- 779 775

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khorároo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a 352 man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where 439 most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

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651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick 439 tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often. Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in; Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gopa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of
625 Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,800 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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Chapter II.

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D. 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

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It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people. Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

194 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánakár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wasír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gaipos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Chánng Thang, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wasír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

[1] [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

Education.

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tdwás* or *togochés*.

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

Leading families.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

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423 Sub-divisions in Lâhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Lâhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 Original form of holdings of fields (Lâhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1¼ or 1½. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákri* or *kámg chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nasarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nasarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákris* or family retainers, or by his *kámg chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Rights of the Thakurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *chákri's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *chákris* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

There are

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *sothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *chákrís* or retainers, and eight of *káng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	Remarks.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*sattál*)	3 *lákh* 3 *páth* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *lákh*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Re. 1 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

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The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *garhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páth* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

(4). It is the custom in all *kothís* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *chákzis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *chákzi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *chákzi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *chákzis* are distinguished by the term of *ldlok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *chákzis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *chákzi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *beti* days, not on the others.

Kóng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *kóng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dojom*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkúl or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkúl ...	Rupees 2 cash, 22lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 22lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of township and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kow* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kow chenyyd* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khow ftika*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

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No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chímpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kathi* the *lamas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *tdo* or *tdzing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Churi *koth*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

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land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamindárs*, others by the *zamindárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

123 649 Government control over waste.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Páttan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

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In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugás* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

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Chapter IV, C. Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Kokzar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *nági* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *riyatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

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CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazaráns* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrú* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul).

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaráns* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

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Chapter V, B.
Land and Land Revenue.
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must be considered as part of the Sikh *beteongná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolás* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazírs* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrú* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulís had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorái."

Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

British assessment of Lâhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firshi*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Lâhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kângra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kângra than in Lâhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Lâhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladâkh were diverted by order of Mahârâja Gûlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahârâja lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Lâhaulis. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Lâhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladâkh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lâkh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shágu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basâhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basâhir and Kûlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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648 Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzi; those in other or *Khálsa kothís* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothís* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *lákh*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzi, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzi families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzi *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

651 648 634 Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netat* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Basáhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 khárs grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazírs* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1848, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netal* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Danka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,481 *khás* 7 *pathi*, and the *netal* to 456 *khás* 11 *pathi*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *khás* 18 *pathi*, which at 2 *khás* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B. — Land and Land Revenue. 651 634 British assessment of Spiti.

[33]

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothis*.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Basáhir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

1. [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2½ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal [435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

000 We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali 482 porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in 554 high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for •651 another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

482 554 657 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

Beyond the High Himalayas

695 687 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 • 651 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session.

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monasteries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth.

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry. If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed, but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

down the field as hard as he can. Reaching the half-way approximately, he throws up the ball, and, with the stick, which is still in the same hand, he hits the ball full and straight into the enemies' goal. To do this at such a pace needs good horsemanship and a wonderfully steady eye and aim. Ends are changed again and the ball is in play. There goes a little fellow from Chushot on his very disreputable pony with saddle tied on none too firmly. The ball is rather beyond his ordinary reach, but what matter, for he has only to lean right out of his saddle, so that, if desired, he could almost touch the ground ; by this means he reaches the ball. There he goes again, but alas, this time his saddle will not stand the strain, swings round with him, and leaves him lying somewhere beneath his pony. Listen to the roars of laughter which greet his performance. Now a Mohammedan from Leh has the ball. A good player that, but his shot has not been accurate, and instead of landing in between the goal-posts, it has gone straight into the crowd of spectators. " Was there a man dismayed ? " Not one, for if anybody has been hurt, he is nursing his pain in secret. Thus the game goes on; it may be for an hour or even more. Scoring is high, for there is not much ground between the opposing goal-posts.

During the summer months the British Joint Commissioner sometimes likes to play. To provide him with regular sport, a certain number of men from the village of Chushot are detailed to appear twice weekly and this is regarded as their share of forced labour. If they do not play well, a threat that no improvement in their style will spell the ordinary *begar* (forced labour) with its carrying of loads, soon mends matters. One year we were able to play a game of England versus Ladak. Two " Varsity " men were shooting up here, and they, with the Commissioner and the Doctor, represented Britain. Ladak certainly put one of its strongest teams on the field. Difficulties soon arose for the visitors, for they were not able tothrow the ball up and hit it while riding even at a

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643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.

643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
●651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

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643 651 644 [778] 643 574 [593] 643 793 [791] 788 792 [794]

the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue. His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room. In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose, while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however, his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earther ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods. But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or, better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance. The services of these respectable women are especially exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal household. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country.

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants.

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size.

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields

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105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to vil-
lagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of land-holders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
466 labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
227 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 483 651

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105 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the
423 soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of
651 unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of
423 Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals
429 as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in
241 Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the
[134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing
[23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*.

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says:

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*.

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*.

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
688 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-*
425 *chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look
[851] after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [192] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-*
196 *bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regu-
651 larly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
595 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live
586 in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
597 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid.

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing

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that burden which they are able to make some profit out of by employing labourers.

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

* The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

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181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[451] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol,
435 whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
437 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

BALTISTĀN

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes. Land revenue.

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and Physical aspects.